Human Events
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'Twas A Famous Victory: A Capital cynic remarked on the morrow of the West Virginia primary that folks in that state seemed to be more interested in money than religion. If one can believe only 10 per cent of the reports coming in from that state, the conclusion is that someone spent an awful lot of money—and it was obviously not Humphrey. The usually restrained Baltimore *Sun* on the day after ran a muck-raking story of how votes were bought in Charleston, and quoted local political observers as saying that the election "may turn out to be one of the most corrupt in West Virginia history." A HUMAN EVENTS correspondent on the scene learned of Negro votes going to Kennedy for $2 apiece. Pros talked discreetly about "arrangements" on a higher level with bosses of counties which observers had never expected to go for Kennedy.

"Campaign spending" looms as a forthcoming big issue, after the Kennedy victory, as GOP National Chairman Morton intimated that the Massachusetts Senator is likely to come under heavy attack. The town is talking about the sharpness of Nixon GHQ's retort to a Kennedy claim that Nixon had spent much money in Indiana where the V-P had put Kennedy "in the shade." Nixon's press secretary Herbert Klein said that "virtually all observers of the primaries to date agree that Senator Kennedy should be the last person to raise any question about excessive spending in campaigns." Also, Democrats are not entirely silent about the matter. What Humphrey said about the Kennedy "checkbook" and the "black bag" lingers. And Senator Wayne Morse said he was "shocked" at the "tremendous expenditures of the Kennedy forces."

As reporters comb all these statements, they like to refer to a certain West Virginia Democratic Congressman who offered a little warning a few weeks ago, as follows: "Only six per cent of the population of my state is Catholic. But I think it's also true that many, many people in poor West Virginia haven't seen a five dollar bill for a long time."

How It Happened: The general hugger-mugger, including all the confusing Administration somersaults, of the international crisis over the U-2 makes little sense—without a picture of what went on behind the scenes in the US Government. As relayed by some of those present, HUMAN EVENTS offers the inside candid camera shots, to illuminate the situation that started on May 5-6:

(1) *Contrary to popular belief, the man responsible for the appalling blunder of admitting the identity and mission of our high-flying CIA agent was not Secretary of State Herter, but Eisenhower himself. Herter, shored up by a number of old-line diplomats (not to mention CIA chief Allen Dulles), wanted to treat the initial Khrushchev revelations to the standard treatment—denials.*

Contact between the State Department and Gettysburg (where Ike was golfing) was made, and Herter received the upsetting order to confess that we had sent the plane over Russia on an intelligence mission. In answer to Herter's objections that we should wait and avow nothing, Ike said (in so many words): "Khrushchev has the evidence and we should come clean in public. I don't want to face this man across the table at the Summit meeting and have him think I'm a liar. We've got to make a candid admission in public." Herter bowed to orders and did his duty, on Saturday, May 7.

(2) Meanwhile, Moscow propaganda began to reveal many holes in the Soviet account (as Herter and the diplomats had expected), and the conduct of the U-2 pilot came under critical discussion. By Monday, May 9, members of Congress (who knew a thing or two about our spying system) were aroused and went to the White House for a conference with Ike. They knew by then that Ike had given the order.

They subjected the President to the most stern and embarrassing grilling that he had endured in office. They told Ike he had jeopardized the international position of the US by admitting publicly something which should never be admitted. Leaders of both parties stood together—Dirksen and Bridges of the Republicans and Johnson, Rayburn and Mansfield of the Democrats. Nixon, who sat in, sided with the Senators. Capitol Hill, Ike learned, wanted a virile posture by the White House against Khrushchev's transparent trickery. (Later, a White House aide called the Hill and said, "Say, you fellows have really got the President down. Please be easy on him tomorrow.")

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(3) On Tuesday, Ike had the GOP leaders alone for the usual weekly conference. To their pleased surprise, Ike had taken their advice to heart. "He's eaten lion steak for breakfast," they said. Ike admitted he'd made a mistake, he averred that he wasn't going to take any lip from Khrushchev at Paris, that he might not even make his trip to Russia in June, that K couldn't bluff him over the Berlin matter and he made uncomplimentary reference to the U-2 pilot. Tough talk. As a result, some repairs were made in our position—denial was made that flights over Russia were called off, our little allies on the fringe of Russia were reassured by promises of aid in case of Soviet aggression.

• Some constructive consequences flowed from the whole affair. For one thing, critics (usually Democratic) of the Administration's defense spending and policy, particularly on aircraft and missiles, were obliged to recant. The revelations gained from the flights over Russia and from the circumstances of the U-2's fatal flight indicate that we're way ahead of Russia in many ways and Russia is more vulnerable than previously believed.

Next, Congress has learned an excellent lesson about our real friends and whom we have to fear in Western Europe. Detailed press reviews of what British, French and German papers were saying on the days when our position looked pretty bad show the following: (1) Vicious anti-US press copy in almost all London papers—more vitriolic towards America than even the Soviet press. The London press always takes its cue from the Foreign Office. (2) Friendly reporting and editorializing from Paris and German papers. "Perfidious Albion" is the word today on Capitol Hill—and we'd better watch British agents even more closely than Russian. (See "G-2 Reaction" story below.)

Capitol Camera: *Pros in the Nation's Capital attach great weight to Vice President Nixon's showing in the Nebraska primary, in which Nixon almost outpolled Senator Kennedy, although Nixon's showing was a purely spontaneous write-in vote while Kennedy's name was on the ballot. Nixon drew* 70,000 *to Kennedy's* 77,000 *and would have outpolled the man from Massachusetts, except that many voters who wrote in Nixon's name failed to mark an "X" beside it, as required by Nebraska law, and so invalidated their ballots.*

• Those in a position to know believe that "go-betweens" and "political agents" of the Mafia are visiting Washington—and not surprisingly. For, whenever there's a "changing of the guard," representatives of the "syndicate" (reputed to be worth more than the Chase Manhattan Bank) are around. It was so in Presidential year 1952 (reported by HUMAN EVENTS on February 6, 1952). Staffs of candidates this year are served warnings to beware of such contacts, which can muddy the waters and cause infinite trouble.

• *Senator Barry Goldwater has taken the forefront in the attack against Flemming's Folly—the Administration's profligate plan for medical care for the aged. He calls it "socialized medicine" and a "dime store New Deal." "What is voluntary," he asked, "about a plan which will entail participation of every taxpayer whether he wants to or not?"*

• The spy hullabaloo has put Allen Dulles' head in the noose and many are gunning for him. Best opinion: The CIA chief is less responsible than his advisers. These would remain if Dulles were ousted. Principal target of Capitol Hill: Robert Amory, top policy maker in CIA, "liberal," wants recognition of Red China, said to be the architect of the Latin American policy which put Castro in power.

• *The New Deal "hatchet-squad" among the columnists, which crucified AEC head Lewis Strauss, is now out to clobber Robert E. Lee, Federal Communications Commissioner—well liked by conservatives (Democrats and Republicans both). Lee is one of the best appointments of the Ike Administration and has done an excellent job.*

• Another appointment, made last week, has angered conservatives—that of Robert A. Bicks, promoted in the Justice Department to be Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust proceedings. Observers say Bicks, while claiming to be a Republican, actually is very much like the trust-busters who harassed business under FDR and Truman; and has been part of such recent adventures as the oil company suit, which even a New Deal judge appointed by FDR had to dismiss.

• *An indication of growing Franco-German cooperation under De Gaulle came with a notice in the May* 7 France-Soir *that local officials in a French city were discouraging "silent protest" meetings against the building of German military bases.*

• Lawrence Derthick was asked recently whether he'd ever read Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* or George Orwell's *1984*. Replied the US Commissioner of Education: "I've never heard of them."

• *Conservatives want to know why Hollywood doesn't put out films like a new English release,* The Angry Silence. *Based on a true story, it points up the dangers of union power and openly sympathizes with a worker who refuses to join a union.*

• Taxes are costing the American people more than food, reports the president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc. Last year, the Nation's tax bill totalled $125 billion, as against only $73 billion for food. Thirty years ago, the tax bill was one-half the food cost.

• *The Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the UN will ask both political parties to repeat their* 1956 *platform stands against Red China recognition. Political observers are especially watching the Democrats, who have replaced pro-Chiang John McCormack with Chester Bowles as head of their platform committee. Bowles is regarded on Capitol Hill as much "softer" on Red China than McCormack.*

• Congressmen regard the remarks of the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, William F. Schnitzler, as labor's definite threat to Forand bill op-

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ponents. Schnitzler stated recently that no Congressional candidate who fails to vote to override a veto of the bill "will be able to overcome such a handicap in the election."

G-2 Reaction: Wherever American intelligence and diplomats, present or retired, gathered in the Capital, there resounded a chorus of horrified comment on the fact that the US Government admitted sending a hush-hush plane on an intelligence mission over Russia. One of the first principles of any intelligence service is that its government never admits that such a service is working in any given situation. If a spy gets caught, deny he's your spy——has been the inflexible rule. Diplomatic Row gasped at the State Department admission, said it was unprecedented in diplomatic history.

The reasons for such a rule are obvious to anyone even remotely associated with hush-hush agencies. Today, old G-2 hands dismally assert that Herter and Eisenhower have severely damaged all our intelligence antennae all over the world. Any American abroad will now be put under careful surveillance and if he's a US secret agent will face great difficulties in performing his missions. Who will work for us now?—they remark. In the silk-gloved techniques of this infinitely devious profession, silence on the part of the Government is a law never to be transgressed. When the Soviets killed a famous British naval intelligence agent in 1956 (the "frogman"), not a word came from the Admiralty. As a result of time-tested discretion, Britain has built up "intelligence posts," in some cases in existence several hundred years.

All this explains why Washington reacted much more strongly to the State Department confession than other American cities. Capital denizens are well aware of E. Phillips Oppenheim capers by foreigners, and not only by the Russians. Just as visible to Washingtonians for many years have been the operations of British agents, male and female.

Recently, in his syndicated column in the Chicago *Tribune*, Walter Trohan related the well-known (in Washington) story of Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan and a succession of British "charmers" with whom he associated. Friendship with the one-time Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee established a valuable pipeline to MID (British military intelligence) for information on what goes on behind the scenes in our foreign policy councils.

So numerous were these "charmers" in war-time Washington that our own security agencies had to bring about a mass exodus after 1945 by US Government request. There was even a training "school" for these gentle agents, reportedly situated on the Thames not far from London; and some of its graduates, it is said, are operating in Washington today.

Goldwater: Wyoming has joined South Carolina and Arizona in endorsing Senator Barry Goldwater for a spot on the GOP national ticket. The Wyoming state Republican convention, meeting in Casper May 9, threw its solid support to Goldwater for the Vice-Presidential nomination. At the same time, two convention delegates from Idaho and one from Nebraska said that their Presidential choice is Goldwater.

Rockefeller: Following the continued coolness on Rocky's part, last week's "feeler" from party leaders to the Governor that he would be quite welcome as convention keynote speaker surprised few in Washington. Most interpret the move as an attempt to make the most of his appeal before the televised convention while dampening Rockefeller-encouraged rumors that he is in a "sour grapes" mood toward Nixon and would not take the Vice-Presidential nomination under any circumstances.

The Empire State consensus is that Nelson will stall regarding his convention role, and that his intentions may not be known until after the 96-vote New York delegation meets late in June to decide what course it will follow at Chicago. As of now it is expected to support the Governor as a first ballot favorite son.

Soviet Spies: While the Administration is criticized in some quarters for sending one unarmed plane to gather information on the Soviet Union, the Communists, who can get equivalent information on the US by reading the daily papers, are actively engaging in wholesale espionage activities in the US under diplomatic immunity.

New revelations of Soviet espionage have just been unfolded by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which published the testimony of Lieutenant Colonel Frantisek Tisler, the Czechoslovakian military and air attache who defected in July, 1959.

According to Tisler's testimony, almost half the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington and the UN delegation between 1955 *and* 1959 *were engaged in "intelligence activity," which included obtaining military information. The former Czechoslovakian Ambassador, Karel Petrzelka, used an American of Czech origin to act as liaison between himself and the American Communist party, according to Tisler. Petrzelka also got the Czech Embassy to give* $3000 *to Anton Krchmarek, an American Communist then on trial under the Smith Act.*

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Point Four Program
For the "Distressed" United States?

The Area Redevelopment Act

By EMILY CUYLER HAMMOND

The politically potent Area Redevelopment Act cannot be lightly dismissed, whether the President signs or vetoes the bill. It is being proudly hailed by its advocates as a "Point Four Program for the United States." By its opponents it is being damned as another long stride towards total socialism. One thing is sure: if it is vetoed, Federal aid to distressed areas will remain an issue as long as some areas remain seriously distressed. If this bill ever becomes law, it will establish a precedent in centralized planning of the American economy.

The Act would set up an "Area Redevelopment Administration." The Administrator of this new agency would have nearly *carte blanche* authority to deal out "Federal assistance to communities, enterprises and individuals in areas needing redevelopment." Rural as well as industrial areas would be designated as distressed according to certain mandatory requirements. The Administrator would be empowered to make cheap loans to approved applicants to aid in the purchase of land, machinery or equipment and in the construction or rehabilitation of buildings for industrial use. He could make grants to states, localities or private groups representing "redevelopment areas" to create public utilities not in competition with any existing privately-owned public utility. He also could give planning advice and technical assistance, promote vocational training, provide retraining and subsistence allowances.

The Federal "seed money"—$251 million—for this grandiose scheme would be obtained through appropriations for two revolving funds of $75 million each for project loans; $50 million for public facility loans; $35 million for public facility grants; $10 million for retraining subsistence payments; and $1.5 million for vocational training. And this, of course, would be just the beginning.

The labor unions began their distressed areas drive after World War II when New England was hard hit by the flight of the textile industry. They claimed that the Employment Act of 1946 obliged the Federal Government "to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power." Due to their ceaseless efforts, in 1956 the Douglas bill for distressed areas passed the Senate but failed to reach the House. Early in 1958, with unemployment mounting, the idea of a "Point Four Program for America" as an anti-recession device caught the imaginations of many who might otherwise have been in opposition. Hearings were held. Governors, mayors, welfare workers and union leaders came to Washington begging for help. A Redevelopment bill passed both the Senate and the House but, as the recession was already lifting, was pocket-vetoed by the President.

Today, of course, the Act cannot be said to be necessary as a recession relief measure.

Conservatives are in full accord with the laudable purpose of the Act, to assist persons, in chronically distressed areas, unemployed by no fault of their own. But conservative consensus is that the machinery of the Act would defeat its own ends because:

(1) Central control would not stimulate, but undermine, local initiative now operating to meet the problems of technological change.

(2) Since under the criteria Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Louisville and Atlantic City would be eligible, there would be no money left for areas in real need.

(3) Federal inducements to move plants to one area, creating unemployment in another, would be neither just nor a contribution to the economy generally.

(4) The Act would be inflationary and therefore do more harm than good.

Representative Alger of Texas said that by the logic of this bill buggy manufacturers would have had to be subsidized. "Should we have subsidized the cobblers, wheelwrights, lamplighters, blacksmiths, snuff makers, and canal boat operators . . .?" he asked.

Representative Bow of Ohio remarked:

"Now that the Congress has just passed a bill making Louisville, Kentucky, a depressed area there is talk . . . about changing the name of the Kentucky Derby to the Depressed Areas Sweepstakes."

A *really* distressed area, however, is no joking matter, as Congressman Bow and anyone else who has seen some of the unemployed coal towns in Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and southern Illinois knows. Although this Act with its central planning and many inequities is surely not the answer until some private or local solution is found to the problems of economic progress we will have a recurrence of proposals "to let Uncle Sam do it."

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Lyndon the Great

Johnson of Texas Runs for President

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Capitol Hill Correspondent for the Chicago Tribune

GOVERNOR DAVID L. LAWRENCE of Pennsylvania, on a recent visit to Washington, spent an hour listening to Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas trumpet his hopes and ambitions.

The monologue was delivered in the Senate Majority Leader's main office near the Senate chamber, popularly known in Capitol Hill's little world as the Throne Room. It is dramatically decorated in gold and green. Painted goddesses frolic on the ceiling. Overhead spotlights focus a theatrical glow upon Johnson's desk.

The Texan has some 20 other offices scattered about the Hill to accommodate his six chairmanships but here is where he gives visitors his most stirring performances. He whispers, he shouts, he gesticulates. He rises and strides up and down, sometimes leaning over his listeners and bruising their ribs with a ramrod finger.

Lawrence got the full treatment. He finally emerged in a daze and sought refuge in the office of Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (D.-Pa.).

"That man," he told Clark in wondering tones, "has sold himself on the idea that he's going to be our nominee and the next President. Now, how can I ask Pennsylvania Democrats to vote for Lyndon Johnson?"

The question poses a problem which is confronting a good many Democratic leaders in the pre-convention period. They had placidly contemplated the strategy which called for Johnson to assume a stalking-horse role at the Los Angeles convention in a campaign designed to stop Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

But now the disturbing word has gone out that Johnson has succumbed to the spell of his own arguments and sees himself as the party's salvation with Kennedy as his running mate.

Those who know Johnson best should have realized that his magnificent ego would not long permit him to occupy a secondary role. He reels off a long list of reasons why he would be the Democratic Presidential nominee with the greatest vote-getting appeal. Brushed aside are such obvious handicaps as his Southern background and his fealty to oil and gas interests which make him politically offensive to the Democratic bosses in the Northern consumer states.

To such a cagy old professional as Boss Lawrence of Pittsburgh, Johnson's ambitions are a dangerous nuisance. The Governor will control 81 votes at the convention and visualizes himself in a king-maker's role. He would like to lead the bandwagon rush to the winner.

The April 26 primary in Pennsylvania solidified Lawrence's objections to Johnson. In the Democratic primary, Kennedy led the ticket with 171,000 write-in votes. Stevenson was second. But in populous and politically significant Allegheny County, which includes the industrial center of Pittsburgh, the startling No. 3 runner (in the Democratic primary!) was none other than Vice President Nixon—who beat out Senators Stuart Symington of Missouri, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Johnson. The latter trailed with less than 3,000 votes.

In the Republican primary, Nixon, unopposed, received some 950,000 votes, an impressive demonstration of strength. But it was his receipt of Democratic write-ins which made politicians realize he will be a tough man to beat in Pennsylvania. Johnson, as Lawrence hinted, is hardly the man to do it.

LAWRENCE, himself a Catholic, doesn't favor Kennedy and liked Johnson as a means to stop him. Now, he and other leaders are fearful of what may happen at the convention if the Texan refuses to yield to another after the early balloting warns of a deadlock.

Johnson and his principal sponsor, Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, show intimates an analysis of convention votes which gives Johnson a minimum of 437 on the second ballot, after favorite sons have been given their complimentary tributes. They claim a possible maximum of 530 votes.

Kennedy's backers also claim 500 or more votes. Either must give way before someone gets the required majority of 761 votes.

Johnson's hopes are now concentrated on getting

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Kennedy to agree to second place on the ticket. He has great skill in maneuvering men to his own objectives, as he has so often proved in running the Senate.

If there is a sure thing in politics, it is that Johnson, himself, would never agree to take the No. 2 spot.

No matter what happens this fall, even if Johnson is the Presidential nominee and loses, he is assured of resuming his Senate majority leadership next January at the start of a new six-year term. He would not forsake this post for that of a mute and virtually powerless presiding officer.

This unique political security was arranged by a special act of the Texas legislature which permitted Johnson to appear on the ballot as a candidate for both the Senate and the Presidency. Early in February, the filing deadline for candidates in the Democratic senatorial primary passed without a single opponent taking the field against Johnson. This meant he had the nomination and in Texas, when you have that, you have the election.

Thus, Johnson has nothing to lose in a desperate long-drawn out convention battle.

He will be bolstered in his drive for the nomination by a supreme confidence that he alone, of all the candidates, is big enough to fill the position once occupied by his idol, Franklin D. Roosevelt. (Lyndon was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1937 when he alone, among eleven candidates, favored FDR's court-packing plan. Roosevelt saw Johnson's victory as popular endorsement of the court plan and gave many breaks to the freshman Congressman.)

In a chamber not noted for the modesty of its members, the Majority Leader's vanity is legendary. It is demonstrated in little ways—explosions of wrath at photographers who shoot his left profile or snap him wearing his spectacles. It is evident in more important matters as when he refers to his "cabinet"—the chairmen of the major Senate committees.

Unrestrained praise in the organs of public opinion has augmented his self-esteem. He cherishes in his office a leather-bound copy of a Saturday Evening Post *article which called him the second most powerful man in the United States.*

KENNEDY CONVULSED the Gridiron club a couple of years ago by telling of a dream which featured a Divine revelation that he was to become President. He confided the dream to Symington who said he, too, had had a dream in which God told him he was destined for the White House.

Meeting Johnson, they told him of their conflicting dreams.

"Strange," murmured Johnson, "I also had a dream last night but I don't remember talking to either one of you."

JOHNSON'S TALENTS as a congressional leader have merited wide publicity. He operates through a powerful mixture of persuasion and patronage, by vote trading, by skillful distribution of political favors and, when necessary, by grim hints of penalties for the recalcitrant.

He calls this "playing it by ear," a favorite expression. This means a series of approaches to a problem, and retreats from it, the wooing of votes from right and left, until eventually some solution satisfactory to a majority is contrived.

A number of conservatives in both parties find the Johnson voting record attractive. In a list of 180 key Senate votes dating back to 1953, compiled by *Congressional Quarterly*, Johnson voted 47 times in opposition to Humphrey, the Senate's most vociferous "liberal."

He has a lower rating with the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action (satisfying the ADA only 58 per cent of the time) than his three Senate rivals, Kennedy, Humphrey and Symington, who scored 100 per cent.

Johnson has supported the Bricker Amendment, the loyalty oath in the student aid program, and amendments to the Labor Act of 1959 which were offensive to labor bosses. But his voting record, on the other hand, shows that he joined Humphrey 133 times in voting for all inflationary spending bills, aid to education, foreign aid, defense spending and farm legislation.

His maneuvers lined up a solid Democratic vote for censure of the late Senator Joe McCarthy when some Southern Democrats wanted to support McCarthy. He helped put the axe to Admiral Lewis L. Strauss as a nominee for the Eisenhower cabinet.

His "conservatism" takes on a suspicious hue when his advisors are considered. These include Dean Acheson, Thomas Corcoran, Benjamin Cohen, Abe Fortas and James H. Rowe, Jr., all important figures in the Roosevelt-Truman regimes. None is noted as a right-wing philosopher. All presumably would come back to power in a Johnson administration.

Johnson can shift rapidly with the political winds. In 1957, he was calling for reduction of Federal expenditures, both for foreign aid and domestic purposes. After the 1958 election, he outlined a 12-

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point free-wheeling spending program which would have added $4 billion annually to the Budget. Only Presidential vetoes and an aroused public, fearful of inflation, called a halt to drastic deficit spending in 1959.

When Johnson entered the House, he was a dependable Dixiecrat. He voted against the anti-lynching bill and four times against the anti-poll tax bill. In the Senate, he joined with Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) to bar District of Columbia desegregation without public referendum and against cloture to break the FEPC filibuster in 1950.

But in 1959, he voted 22 times with the South and 37 times with the North on roll-calls in which the majority of Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of Northern Democrats.

He steered to passage this year a Civil Rights bill opposed by the South. The measure was a typical Johnson compromise, distasteful to extremists on both sides. Whether it will permit many additional Negro votes in the South, as claimed, is highly debatable. Johnson did not lose the South on this issue. Senator Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.), leader of the Southern bloc, has not repudiated his 1956 support of Johnson for President.

JOHNSON IS A RICH MAN. His wife, Ladybird, is wealthy in her own right. She owns the controlling interest in the LBJ Company of Austin, Texas, which owns or has an interest in four television and three radio stations in Texas. Johnson is authority for the statement that Ladybird has poured "two million dollars of her own money" into this company.

He owns no stock in the company, which has a TV monopoly in Austin, and does not regard his family's interest in the radio-TV industry as a source of conflict of interest for him between his duties as a Senator and as head of his family.

Visitors to the LBJ ranch near Johnson City, Texas, founded by the Senator's grandfather, have given awed descriptions of Johnson's mode of living at home. He likes to lie in a luxurious outdoor swimming pool, issuing a stream of orders to waiting secretaries, as piped-in music provides a soothing background. He has never had much worry about money.

An extraordinary personality emerges from this study of a complex man. He is proud, often arrogant, intensely ambitious, powerfully persuasive, bursting with energy, politically intuitive, brilliant in legislative techniques, keenly alive to and skilled in playing upon the foibles and prejudices of his fellow men.

He is a lover of the good things of life. He showed courage in staging a come-back after a massive heart attack which almost felled him in 1955. But by far his outstanding characteristic is his love of compromise and an accompanying distaste for vulgar controversy. These are qualities which have carried him to the top of the heap on Capitol Hill at the age of 51.

What could the Nation expect if Lyndon Johnson became the first Southerner in the White House since Andrew Johnson? He could be expected to handle Congress and domestic affairs with great dexterity. The country would probably be treated to plenty of action.

Johnson has called the "first 100 days" of the Roosevelt Administration the greatest period in American history.

But the next President of the United States will also be the leader of the non-Communist world in its struggle against the eternally aggressive designs of imperialist Russia.

This is a demanding role, calling for great strength of convictions and that quality of tough stubbornness in clinging to them, despite the pressure of "world opinion," which has made Adenauer and de Gaulle so hateful to the Kremlin.

Johnson has never been known to take an unpopular stand and go down the line for it. He was baffled by occasional displays of this politically profitless refusal to compromise by Taft of Ohio and Knowland of California.

He has had little experience in international affairs. He has never been a member of the foreign relations committee. He has taken few trips abroad, and has had few contacts with foreign leaders.

The suspicion persists that he might take to summit conferences the same lack of perception of Russian designs and the same ingratiating desire to please which influenced the late President Roosevelt in disastrous agreements in 1944 and 1945.

The woeful consequences of Cairo, Teheran and Yalta have been ignored by Johnson who calls FDR "the greatest man of the century."

The Senate Majority Leader's reputation has been gained on the basis of willingness to give a little rather than stand firm. How will this policy operate against the wiles of a Khrushchev?

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'Conscience of a Conservative'

Senator Goldwater Has Raised an Inspiring Standard

IN AN AGE when political figures generally are concerned with fashioning sympathetic public "images" of themselves, Barry Goldwater, 51-year-old Senator from Arizona, has followed a contrary course: he has tended strictly to his principles.

Paradoxically, his total lack of concern for the new custom of applying—or misapplying—the techniques of Madison Avenue to personal politics has resulted in the limning of as clear and forceful an image as can be found on the national scene.

Goldwater is a well-to-do merchant who does not apologize for owning four department stores; he possesses a physical courage that was tested in a career as an Army Air Force pilot in World War II; his moral courage, finally, has been pitted against the redoubtable Walter Reuther, whose lieutenants left no stone unhurled in the drive to defeat Republican Goldwater in his second successful campaign for the Senate in a normally Democratic state.

Now Barry Goldwater has written a book, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (Victor, $3), which makes his uncompromising credo stand out as boldly as any Arizona mesa. Its tone, indeed, runs counter to what every Presidential candidate in both parties currently has to offer. Says Senator Goldwater: "I have little interest in streamlining government or in making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom . . . . If I should later be attacked for neglecting my constituents' interests, I shall reply that I was informed their main interest is liberty, and that in that cause I am doing the very best I can."

Clearly, as the modern Presidential aspirant sees it, such an approach is tantamount to suicide at the polls. But while it may not win national elections, in 1960 at any rate, its rugged integrity and hard-driving logic are bound to win national respect.

By all accounts, indeed, the book, despite the handicap of publication by an obscure house in Shepherdsville, Kentucky, already is enjoying a wide sale. Its success undoubtedly springs in part from the author's ability to give humanitarian reasons for following policies which usually have been associated with a mere lust for gain. The duty of a conservative, he says, is not to stand pat, but rather to find ways of augmenting individual welfare without pushing the Federal Government into realms which, under the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, originally were reserved to the citizenry and the states. When Goldwater votes against federal aid for slum clearance, or dismisses a Forand medical "insurance" bill, liberals ask him, "Are you unmoved by the problems of the aged and disabled?" To which Goldwater says no.

However, he adds that a "simple 'No' is not enough. I feel certain that conservatism is through unless conservatives can demonstrate and communicate the difference between being concerned with such problems and believing that the Federal Government is the proper agent for their solution."

IN HIS SEARCH for proper solutions—and proper agents—the Senator seeks to pinpoint the legitimate functions of the Federal Government. He is no doctrinaire defender of states-rights; where the Constitution insists on Federal responsibilities, he is all for giving force to the law. However, Goldwater finds nothing in the Constitution that authorizes Washington to prescribe standards of education, nor does he discover any warrant in our basic enabling document for US control of agriculture; Federal grants of immunity to labor unions, which infringe upon the old common law against monopoly; or Federal seizure of a citizen's substance to pay for forays into public power developments, public housing or urban renewal.

The claim that the general welfare clause of the Constitution justifies the flagrant inroads that have been made upon the Tenth Amendment is "bizarre" reasoning to Barry Goldwater. Only by turning Webster's dictionary into an appendix to *Alice in Wonderland* can one stretch the concept of the general welfare to cover the vast array of subsidies to special interests, grants which eventually must be paid for either out of national tax revenues or by an inflation which undermines the common weal. In the long run, moreover, one way or another, even the privileged groups must pay the piper. A case in point are the handouts to agriculture, which, says the Senator, have piled woes upon the farmer without improving farm income.

INSTEAD OF A SOLUTION, farm subsidies have yielded strict acreage curbs, huge surpluses, and high consumer prices, to say nothing of a tax bill which runs close to six billions a year. Significantly, this is roughly the sum now collected from taxpayers who are above the twenty per cent bracket. If the farm program could be liquidated, the Senator notes, the government could apply fair and equitable *proportional* income taxes to all. And the money thus released for more profitable investment would be a sharp and badly needed spur to business activity and economic growth.

As to foreign affairs, Goldwater is distinctly not one to say that the cold war can be fought on the cheap. He is willing to pay the bills for maintaining NATO and SEATO, and for extending US commitments to embrace huge areas—in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa—which the alliances fail to cover. But he draws a clear-cut distinction between outlays for foreign aid which are designed to further mutual military aims and those which merely help to saddle state socialism upon countries which remain obdurately neutral.

Above all, he doesn't believe the freedom of West Berlin is "negotiable," nor does he think that one can do business with Communist dictators.

In this election year, Barry Goldwater is not likely to make much headway. However, he has staked out a position which, over the years, is apt to gain more and more adherents. As Goldwater notes, there is a growing revulsion against federal paternalism, a hunger for solving difficulties on a local basis, a general understanding that the US budget has gone way out of bounds. By hewing to principles, and by showing where they truly serve everybody's welfare, Goldwater has raised a standard to which the wise and honest may repair.

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